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## Simonides(8) (5,746 words)

[Paradiso, Annalisa](#)

### BNJ 8 T 1

[FGrH](#)

**Suda σ 442 (4.362.18 Adler) = T1 Translation**

**Fowler**

Subject: [genre: biography](#)

Source Date: [10th century AD](#)

Historian's Date: [5th century BC?](#)

Historical Period: [5th century BC](#)

Σιμωνίδης Κεῖος: θυγατριδοῦς κατά τινας τοῦ [Simonides of Keos](#). According to some, he προτέρου, δῆς ἐπεκλήθη Μελικέρτης. γέγονε was the grandson of the earlier δὲ πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν· καὶ γέγραψε [Simonides](#), who was called [Melikertes](#) Γενεαλογίαν ἐν βιβλίοις τρισίν· Εύρήματα ἐν (the lyric poet 556/5–468/7), by the βιβλίοις τρισίν. latter's daughter. He was born before the Peloponnesian War (a.431). He wrote *Genealogy* in three books, *Discoveries* in three books.

### Commentary

The [Suda](#) gives us cautiously (κατά τινας) [Simonides'](#) date according to his familiar link with the homonymous grandfather, the lyric poet who lived in 556/5–468/7.

R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 1 (Oxford 2000, 2000), xxxv, however, says there could be invention here based on the supposed relationship. *Marmor Parium* (239, sub ep. 49, 489/8 BC) mentions a [Simonides](#), the poet's grandfather, who was a poet too: Σιμωνίδης ὁ Σιμωνίδου πάππος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ποιητὴς ὃν καὶ αὐτός, ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησι, which U. von Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides. Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker* (Berlin 1913, 1913), 139 n. 2, corrected to θυγατριδοῦς (or νύδοῦς) – whether the grandson, who is said to have been a poet, would be the same as the genealogist or not, is doubtful.

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There could have been a family intellectual ‘confraternity’, in which Bacchylides too took part, as the poet’s nephew. The Suda dates the genealogist two generations after the poet and before the Peloponnesian War, which was a real historiographical turning point (and historical, of course). However, the dating πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν is not precise. Suda δ 41 (5 T 1) dates Damastes of Sigeion also πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, σύγχρονος Ἡροδότῳ; Dionysios of Halikarnassos placed him, more precisely, among the historians who lived a little before the Peloponnesian War (de Thucydide 5.1, i.330.7, ed. Usener-Radermacher, 48.17 Aujac, with [ ] R.L. Fowler, ‘Herodotus and his Contemporaries’, *JHS* 116 (1996), 64). Dionysios divided the early historians, those who preceded Thucydides and his contemporaries, into two groups: first those who lived before the Peloponnesian War, πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, that is, chiefly, Eugaion of Samos, Dei(Dochos of Kyzikos), Eudemos of Paros, Demokles of Phygela, Hekataios of Miletos, Akousilaos of Argos, Charon of Lampsakos; then those who lived from a date not long before the war, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, down to the time of Thucydides, that is Hellenikos of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeion, Xenomedes of Keos, Xanthos the Lydian, followed by Herodotus.

As to Simonides’ works, we have two certain book-titles: Genealogy, in the singular, in three books, and Heuremata, in three books. Genealogies, in the plural, is the title of earlier works, such as those by Akousilaos (2 T 1, FF 3, 37) and Hekataios (BNJ 1 F 3, 6, 7a, 9-12a). Heuremata was accepted by [ ] C. Brusskern, *De rerum inventarum scriptoribus graecis* (Diss. Bonn 1864, 1864), 1-2, and, with many doubts, by [ ] A. Kleingünther, ‘Πρῶτος εὑρετής’, *Philol. Suppl.* 26.1 (1933), 146, but rejected by [ ] P. Eicholz, *De scriptoribus περὶ εὐρημάτων* (Diss. Halis 1867, 1867), 9, who identified it with Symmikta (cf. *infra*). According to Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography*, xxxvi, n. 21, Heuremata is a little suspect, as it would be the earliest example of the genre. However, interest in the origins of human activities, the πρῶτος εὑρετής-theme, was lively in the time of Simonides, and even before. For instance, Hekataios (BNJ 1 F 20), Dionysios of Miletos (BNJ 687 F 1), Anaximander (BNJ 9 F 3), Herodotus (5.58) and Andron of Halikarnassos (BNJ 10 F 9) all discussed the inventor of the Greek alphabet; Andron (F 10) analysed the origin of cremation; Hellenikos (BNJ 4 F 178), the invention of letter-writing, trousers, eunuchs, and tiaras. Skamon, who was his son, wrote a περὶ εὐρημάτων (BNJ 476 T 3). See also Charon BNJ F 3a, 7a, Hellenikos BNJ 4 F 71b, 86, 175, 189, Damastes BNJ 5 F 6, Xanthos BNJ 765 F 4, Hippias BNJ 6 F 8, Herodotus 1.94.1, Andron BNJ 10 F 13 with Fowler, ‘Herodotus and his Contemporaries’, 75-6. A title like Symmikta ('Mélanges', 'Medley', 'Miscellany') is attributed simply to 'Simonides', without epithets, by the Scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios (*Argonautica* 1.763: F 3). Apparently, the title is not otherwise attested before Aristoxenos (F124 and 139 W.); see then Kallistratos (348 FF 2-3), Didymos ([ ]) M. Schmidt, *Didymi Chalcenteri grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1854, 1854), 378-9), and Seleukos (341 T 1 and F 3). See also the commentary on F 3.

## BNJ 8 F 1

FGrH

**Etymologicum Genuinum AB (Etymologicum  
Magnum p. 479. 47 unde Tzetzes ad Lykophron,  
Alexandra 355 (137.28 Scheer = F1 Fowler))**  
Subject: myth: mythical figure; genre: genealogy

Source Date: 9th Century AD

Historian's Date: 5th century BC?

Historical Period: n.a.

Ίτωνίς· Ίτωνία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ εἴρηται παρὰ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, ἀπό τινος πόλεως Ἰτωνος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ γενεαλόγος Σιμωνίδης Ίτώνου θυγατέρας γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἰοδάμαν, ἀς ἐζηλωκυίας τὴν ὀπλομαχικήν εἰς ἔριν τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι τὴν Ἰοδάμαν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

### Apparatus Criticus

Ίτωνίς καὶ Ίτωνία Magn. Tzetz.

Θεσσαλικοῖς Gen.

post Σιμ. distinxit Gen.

### Translation

Itonis. Among Thessalians, Itonian Athena is so called after a town Iton. Simonides the genealogist says that Itonos had two daughters, Athena and Iodama, who vying with each other in the art of fighting with heavy arms, came to a dispute, and Iodama was killed by Athena.

## 'Ιτωνίου Tzetzes

'Ιοδάμειαν fere Tzetzs cod. a

ἀλλήλας Gen. (coniecerat Sylburgius (ed. 1594)): ἀλλήλους cett. Ad finem  
affert Gen. A Ap.Rhod.1.550 sqq., e cuius scholiis plenioribus cetera hausta  
sunt.

## Commentary

For F 1, I follow Fowler's critical edition. This fragment may be attributed to *Genealogy*. Its author is quoted as 'Simonides the genealogist', which was evidently intended to distinguish him from the poet (cf. F 2). As to the limits of the fragment, I think one can attribute to Simonides Itonos' genealogical stemma, Ιτώνου θυγατέρας γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ίοδάμαν, considering Simonidean also the subsequent telling of the myth: ἂς ἔζηλωκυίας τὴν ὄπλομαχικὴν εἰς ἔριν τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι τὴν Ίοδάμαν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. We have here a good attestation of Athena's agonistic relations to heroines challenging her in a contest of skill at handiwork (like Arachne, turned into a spider after defying the goddess at weaving) or martial arts (like Pallas, killed during a martial competition by Athena, who was raised by Pallas' father Tritonos): cf. [ ] D. Lyons, *Gender and Immortality. Heroines in Ancient Greek Myth and Cult* (Princeton 1997, 1997), 97. The originally Thessalian cult of Itonian Athena subsequently spread over Boiotia: therefore Iodama, who is actually Athena's sister (and Thessalian Itonos' daughter) in Simonides, and challenges her but meets with death at her hands, in Pausanias becomes a priestess of the temple of Itonian Athena near Koronea, turned to stone at the sight of the goddess' gorgoneion (9.34.2). Thessalian 'Itonia' was mentioned by Hekataios in the first book of *Histories* (1 F 2) and by Armenidas in his *Thebaika*. According to him Itonos, Amphiktyon's son, born in Thessaly, gave his name to Iton the town and Itonian Athena (378 F 1). Iodama was mother of Thebe by Zeus (Tzetzes, ad Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1206). Another daughter of Itonos' was Chromia, Endymion's wife, according to Pausanias 5.1.4. Cf. [ ] H.W. Stoll, 'Iodama', W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 2.1 (Leipzig 1890-94, 1890-94), 284, [ ] U. Höfer and H. Drexler, 'Itonia', W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 2.1 (Leipzig 1890-94, 1890-94), 567-9, [ ] H.W. Stoll, 'Itonos (1)', W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 2.1 (Leipzig 1890-94, 1890-94), 569; cf. [ ] J. Gunning, 'Iodama' RE 9.2 (1916), cols. 1839-41, [ ] A. Adler, 'Itonia', RE 9.2 (1916), cols. 2374-6, and [ ] G. Weicker, 'Itonos', RE 9.2 (1916), cols. 2376-7, with [ ] A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia 1 Acheloos to Hera* (London 1981, 1981), 115-27 and [ ] J.-R. Gisler, 'Iodama', LIMC 5.1 (Zurich 1990, 1990), 681-2. The evolution of the cult of Athena Itonia in Boiotia and elsewhere will be discussed in detail by R.L. Fowler in the forthcoming second volume of his *Early Greek Mythography*.

## BNJ 8 F 2

FGrH

Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios 2.865-72b, 192.24 Translation

Wendel = F2 Fowler

Subject: myth: mythical figure; genre: genealogy

Source Date: unknown

Historian's Date: 5th century BC?

Historical Period: n.a.

'Αγκαίῳ ... δν 'Ιμβρασίοισι παρ' ὕδασιν 'Αστυπάλαια τίκτε  
Ποσειδάνωνι] δτι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ 'Αστυπαλαίας τῆς Φοίνικος δ  
Σάμιος 'Αγκαῖος ἦν παῖς, ὃς ἐκυβέρνα τὴν ναῦν μετὰ τὴν Τίφυος  
τελευτήν, καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ γενεαλόγος ὁμοίως τῷ 'Απολλωνίῳ  
γενεαλογεῖ.

Ankaios the Samian, who steered the ship after Tiphs' death, was the son of Poseidon and Astypalaea, Phoinix's daughter, as Simonides the genealogist genealogizes similarly to Apollonios.

## Commentary

This fragment, as well as F 1, can be attributed to *Genealogy*, even if its title is not quoted. Its author is cited as 'Simonides the genealogist': the Scholiast to *Apollonios Rhodios* mentions eight more times Simonides the poet, but he always calls

him ‘Simonides’ without epithets. He quotes twice from the *Naumachia at Artemision* (*PMG* 534, Schol. ad 1.211-15c), elsewhere he does not specify from which work: see *PMG* 558 (ad 4.814-15a), 575 (ad 3.26b), 596 (ad 4.1212-14b), 635 (ad 1.583-84a) and *schol. ad 4.176-77* (quoted by Page in the *apparatus* to *PMG* 576). Some doubts exist concerning the attribution of the *Scholion* to Apollonios 1.763-64a, 66.20 Wendel. The title Symmikta suits neither the poet nor the genealogist: see the commentary to F 3. As to the limits of F 2, I ascribe to Simonides with confidence only Ankaios’ genealogy, that is Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας τῆς Φοίνικος ὁ Σάμιος Ἀγκαῖος: the following ‘presentation’ of Ankaios as the steersman after Tiphys’ death may belong in strict logic to the explicatory context of the Scholiast. This genealogy – but apparently not the tradition about Ankaios as Argo’s steersman – goes back to the lyric and epic poet Asios of Samos who had fixed an almost complete genealogical *stemma*, from Phoinix and Perimedes (Oineus’ daughter), to Astypalaea and Poseidon, to Ankaios, King of the Leleges, and Samia (Maiandros’ daughter) and their children Enudos, Samos, Perilaos, Alitherses and Parthenope, down to their grandson Lycomedes, Parthenope’s and Apollo’s son (F7 Kinkel = 545 F 1). Asios attributed to Astypalaea a sister, Europa; Apollodoros, another son, Eurypylos, King of Kos (2.7.1); Hyginos, a third son, Periklymenos (*Fabula* 157). Ankaios, who was killed by a wild boar, is often confused with the homonymous Arkadian hero, Lykourgos’ son, who was killed by the more famous Kalydonian boar: in book 8 of his *Histories*, Pherekydes told of the Lelegian Ankaios’ killing by the Kalydonian boar (3 F 36); according to him, Ankaios reigned on the coast from Ephesos to Phokaia and also on Samos and Chios: see 3 F 155. He mentioned also Tiphys, see 3 F 107; cf. [ ] F. Oertel, ‘Ankaios (1) and (2)’, W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I. 1 (Leipzig 1884-86, 1884-86), 354-5, [ ] H.W. Stoll, ‘Astypalaia’, W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I. 1 (Leipzig 1884-86, 1884-86), 663, [ ] V. Komninos, ‘Astypale’, *LIMC* 2.1 (Zurich 1984, 1984), 939-40.

## BNJ 8 F 3

FGrH

**Scholion on Apollonios Rhodios 1.763-64a, 66.20      Translation**

**Wendel**

Subject: myth: mythical figure

Source Date: unknown

Historian's Date: 5th century BC?

Historical Period: n.a.

ἐν καὶ Φρίξος ἔην Μινυή<sup><</sup>ιος<sup>></sup>] Μινυήιος ὁ Ἰώλκιος· τὴν γὰρ Ἰωλκὸν Μινύαι ὕικουν, ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης ἐν Συμμίκτοις. δύναται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὁρχομένιος πολλοὶ γάρ φασιν ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ οἰκῆσαι τὸν Ἀθάμαντα.

Minyan, who comes from Iolchos. The Minyans lived in Iolchos, as Simonides says in his Miscellany. It is equivalent to Orchomenos. Many people say that Athamas lived in Orchomenos.

### Apparatus Criticus

1 ἔην P: om. L Ἰώλκιος L<sup>g</sup>

2 φασιν PAH: φησιν L.

### Commentary

The fragment has been attributed to the genealogist, even if with considerable uncertainty, by Müller, *FHG* 2.42 and by Jacoby in *FGrH*, *ad loc.*, and to the poet by Page (*PMG* 540) and by [ ] Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 1 (Oxford 2000, 2000), xxxii, 368. Simonides the poet treated the myth of the Argonauts in *PMG* 544-548. However, the title Σύμμικτα reminds one rather of some critical works of later authors or grammarians, such as Aristoxenos (F124 Σύμμικτα συμποτικά and 139 W. Σύμμικτα ὑπομνήματα), Kallistratos, the pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium (*BNJ* 348 F 2 Σύμμικτα, about the χιαί, women’s shoes, and *BNJ* 348 F 3 Σύμμικτα, a quotation from the poet Simonides) and Didymos (Σύμμικτα or Σύμμικτα συμποσιακά, see [ ] M. Schmidt, *Didymi Chalceteri grammatici Alexandrini fragmenta quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig 1854, 1854), n.\*8, 378-9). Barker (*apud* [ ]) T. Gaisford, *Poetae minores Graeci* (Leipzig 1823, 1823), 157) proposed in our F 3 Σέλευκος ἐν Συμμίκτοις instead of Σιμωνίδης ἐν Συμμίκτοις, as Seleukos of Alexandria was the author, in the Tiberian age, of Σύμμικτα, which were also quoted by the Scholiast to Apollonios about Stymphalian birds (2, 1052/57a, 203 Wendel = F77 M. = *BNJ* 341 F 3, cf. T 1). *PMG* 650 may be attributed not to Simonides the poet (Page, in the *apparatus* to *PMG* 650: ‘Simonides noster non est’), nor to the

genealogist (it is recorded by Müller as ἐν δέ Σιμωνίδης in *FHG* 2.42 from book 4 of *Symmikta*, but not by Jacoby in *FGrH*) but to *Seleukos*: see [ ] O. Poltera, 'Von Seleukos zu Simonides' und zurück: Simon. *PMG* 540', *MH* 55 (1998), 130, who suggests reading Σελεύκου· Ἰλεύς...ταῦτα παρατίθεται ἐν δέ Συμμίκτων, instead of ἐν δέ Σιμωνίδου (*Etymologicum Gudianum apud* [ ] R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* (Leipzig 1897, 1897), n. 28, 161, 4-9). In fact, Seleukos was pursuing exegesis of *Hesiod* (who is quoted apparently by him in *PMG* 650); cf. F27-33 M.

## BNJ 8 F 4

FGrH

**Aitios of Amida, Libri medicinales 13.90**

Subject: natural sciences; animals; medicine

Source Date: 6th century AD

Historian's Date: n.a.

Historical Period: n.a.

περὶ τῶν προφυλακτικῶν καὶ προγνωστικῶν ζώων ἐν οἰκείᾳ συνήθως τρεφομένων. ἐπειδὴ περὶ προφυλακτικῶν καὶ περὶ προγνωστικῶν ζώων παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαῖοις ἀναγέγραπται κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀντιπαθείας λόγον ἐνεργούντων, κάκι τούτων ἐκλεξάμενοι τὰ ἐμπειρότερα ἐνθάδε παραθήσομεν, δύος συντελέστερος ὁ σύμπας περὶ τούτων λόγος γένεται. Πείσων ἐν τῷ Περὶ ζώων φησὶ τὸν πέρδικα ἐν οἰκείᾳ τρεφόμενον φθέγγεσθαι καὶ βοᾶν καὶ πτερύσσεσθαι καὶ σπαράσσειν τὸ περδικοτροφεῖον νοήσαντα φαρμακείαν τινὰ γίνεσθαι ἐν οἰκείᾳ ἢ ἔτερον δηλητήριον. Μενέλαος δέ φησιν, ἀετὸς τρεφόμενος ἐν οἰκείᾳ ἀμύνεται καὶ ἐπιπηδᾷ τοῖς τοιαῦτα πράσσουσιν. Σιμωνίδης φησὶ τὸν ταῦν προγνῶντα φαρμακείαν γεγενημένην ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ βοᾶν καὶ πτερύσσεσθαι καὶ ἀποσκεδαννύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγγείων τὴν φαρμακείαν, ἢ ἀνορύσσειν ἐάνπερ ὑπάρχῃ κατὰ γῆς ἢ φαρμακεία. Ἀριστόδημος δέ φησι τὸν ἰχνεύμονα ἐν οἰκείᾳ τρεφόμενον τὰς κατὰ γῆς κεχυμένας φαρμακείας ἐπιγινώσκειν. Φερεκύδης δὲ ἴστορεῖ τὸν ἄρσενα ψιττακὸν τηρεῖν καὶ ἐλέγχειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν ὡνομαστὶ τῶν ποιούντων ἢ εἰσφερόντων ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

### Commentary

F 4 is not Simonidean, in my opinion: see already [ ] R.L. Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 1 (Oxford 2000, 2000), xxxii, 368. 'Simonides' is here quoted as to the peacock foreknowing and revealing the presence of a poison by crying aloud and spreading its tail, and by scattering or digging it up if it is under the earth. The subject – which is really too far from the interests of the genealogist, and has no mythical background or meaning – is in accordance with the other authorities quoted by *Aitios*, such as the unknown *Peison*, who seems however the source of the whole passage; *Menelaos*, unknown too, perhaps the same author quoted by *Galen* in *περὶ ἀντιδότων 2* (14.173 ed. Kühn, 1827); *Aristodemos*, who is probably identical with *Aristodemos of Thebes* (BNJ 383), and lived about the middle of the second century BC and, finally, *Pherekydes*, the hellenistic mythographer of *Leros* (cf. BNJ 475 F 2), all speaking about birds reared at home, able to reveal poisons within the house. All these authors (for their identifications, see Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography*, 262-3) share an interest in typically hellenistic scientific or medical stories or subjects (cf. *Galen's On Antidotes* and *Nikander's treatment of venomous animals, poisons and antidotes in Theriaka and Alexipharmaka*, two of the sources of *Aitios* detected with certainty: see [ ] J. Theodorides, 'Sur le XIII<sup>e</sup> livre du traité d'Aetios d'Amida, médecin byzantin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.', *Janus* 47 (1958), 221-37). In particular, *Aristodemos* attributes to another bird, the *ichneumon*, the same skills 'Simonides' attributes to the peacock, as to digging up poisons buried under the earth. These peacocks are evidently tamed, like the other birds quoted here: cf., at the beginning of the passage, the 'title' *About Prophylactic and Foreknowing Animals Habitually (συνήθως) Reared at Home*: it should be noted that peacocks, Indian in origin (*Lucian, Navigium 23*: for the foreignness of the word ταῦς, cf. [ ] P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* 4 (Paris 1980, 1980), s.v.), were introduced into *Athens* in the fifth

### Translation

About prophylactic and foreknowing animals habitually reared at home. As ancient authors wrote that prophylactic and foreknowing animals operate in accordance with the principles of counteraction, we shall select and mention here the most skilful among them, in order that the whole argument may be the most complete. In his treaty *On Animals*, *Peison* says the partridge reared at home cries aloud and shouts and flaps its wings and destroys the partridge-coop if it perceives there is a poison – or somewhat else noxious – in the house. *Menelaos* says the eagle reared at home keeps off and leaps upon those who manage such things. *Simonides* says the peacock, foreknowing the presence of a poison, goes on the place and cries aloud and spreads its tail and disperses the poison out of the vessels or digs it up, if it has been buried. *Aristodemos* says the *ichneumon* reared at home finds out the poisons poured under the earth. *Pherekydes* says the male parrot keeps watch, brings proofs and accuses by name those who make or introduce such things within the house.

century and owned at first only by some rich people, not 'habitually reared at home'. They were kept by Pyrilampes and then his son Demos about 445 for the first time: the orator Antiphon, who wrote the speech Against Erasistratos on Peacocks for a trial which was conducted in 415 or thereabouts says Demos' aviary was already thirty years old at that date (Antiphon 16 F57 Thalheim: for the date of the trial and the historical and political background of the speech, see

P. Cartledge, 'Fowl Play: A Curious Lawsuit in Classical Athens (Antiphon XVI, frr. 57-9 Thalheim)', P. Cartledge, P. Millet and S. Todd (eds), *Nomos. Essays in Athenian Law, Politics and Society* (Cambridge 1990, 1990), 41-61. Pyrilampes – who was a friend of Perikles and the second husband of Plato's mother Periktione – probably imported the first specimens from Persia, where he went many times as an ambassador and possibly received them as a gift from the Great King (Plato, Charmides 158a). Thus, the prosecution of Demos by Erasistratos was probably for wrongful possession of public property (cf. Cartledge, 'Fowl Play', 57). In the Pericles, Plutarch says Pyrilampes offered these precious birds to Perikles' lovers (13.15). From Antiphon's Against Erasistratos, we know their very high price in the fifth century, that is 1,000 drachmas for a breeding pair at Demos' aviary: we know also that some people came to Athens from Sparta and Thessaly, only on the first day of every month, to see them on payment and get hold of their precious eggs (F57-8 Thalheim). Peacocks are an exotic and expensive rarity still in the second half of the fifth century. In the Acharnians, Aristophanes compares the Persian ambassadors playing the peacock to these birds (61ff.); in the Birds, Peisetairos asks the epops if it is a bird or a peacock as the latter would not be so well known (102; see also 269 and the list of rare and almost unknown birds, among which we find the peacock, at 881-8). Only in the fourth century, Antiphanes (F203 K.-A.) and Anaxandrides (F29 K.-A.) mention peacocks as normal, even if expensive, domestic birds, by that time more common than quails. Beginning from the late fifth-fourth centuries, they are frequently kept at home, according to Eupolis (F41 K.-A.), Strattis (F28 K.-A.), Anaxandrides (F29 K.-A.) and Anaxilas (F24 K.-A.). Perhaps they were bred for the first time on the eastern Aegean island of Samos, as they were sacred to Hera (Antiphanes, F173 K.-A., Menodotos, BNJ 541 F 2). On peacocks, see A. Steier, 'Pfau', *RE* 19 . 2 (1938), cols. 1414-21, J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek life and myth* (London 1977, 1977), 91-3 and Cartledge, 'Fowl Play', 52-3.

This chronology clearly also does not fit the identification of Aitios' Simonides with the poet. Perhaps the text, that is Simonides' name, is here corrupted: as to book 13 of Aitios' Liber medicinalis, however, there does not yet exist a complete critical edition, but only a partial one, as far as chapter 59, so not as far as our chapter 90, edited by

S. Zervos, "Αετίου Ἀμιδηνοῦ περὶ δακνόντων ζώων καὶ ιοβόλων ὅφεων ὅτοι λόγος δέκατος τρίτος", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 18 (1905), 241-302. I am following here Fowler's choice, not Jacoby's one. In FGrH 3 F 173, Jacoby adopts Aitios' Latin translation by Ianus Cornarius (chapter IV.1.86), published in Lyons in 1549: against this, Fowler, *Early Greek Mythography* 362 (= Pherekydes F173) prints the text given by a Greek manuscript, Canonicianus graecus 109, at f.186v, and marked at ch. 90 with *koppa*.

## BNJ 8 F 5a

FGrH

**Plutarch, Lykourgos 1.8 = BNJ 596 F 12**

Subject: genre: genealogy

Source Date: 1st-2nd century AD

Historian's Date: 5th century BC?

Historical Period: n.a.

(a) Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 1.8: <...><sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς<sup>2</sup> οὐκ Εὔνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρός, ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Εὔνομον, οἵ<sup>3</sup> πλεῖστοι σχεδὸν οὐκ οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Προκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου γενέσθαι Σόον<sup>4</sup>, Σόον δὲ Εύρυππωντα<sup>5</sup>, τούτου δὲ Πρύτανιν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ Εὔνομον, Εὔνόμου δὲ Πολυδέκτην ἐκ πρωτέρας γυναικός, Λυκοῦργον δὲ νεώτερον ἐκ Διωνάσσης<sup>6</sup>, ὡς Διευχίδας ιστόρηκεν, ἔκτον μὲν ἀπὸ Προκλέους, ἐνδέκατον δ' ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους.

### Translation

According to Simonides, Lykourgos was not Eunomos' son, but he and Eunomos were Prytanis' sons. Most people however genealogize differently, saying that the son of Prokles (Aristodamos' son) was Soos, Soos' son was Euriphon, Euriphon's son was Prytanis, Prytanis' son was Eunomos, Eunomos' sons were Polydektes by his first wife and the younger son Lykourgos by Dionasse, as Dieuchidas says (BNJ 485 F 5 = 2 F 5 Piccirilli). He was the sixth from Prokles, the eleventh from Herakles.

## BNJ 8 F 5b

**FGrH****Scholion on Plato, Republic 10.599d, 271 Greene = 6 Translation****F10 Piccirilli**Subject: genre: genealogySource Date: unknownHistorian's Date: 5th century BC?Historical Period: n.a.

Λυκοῦργος Σπαρτιάτης ἡ Λακεδαιμόνιος γέγονε τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μετὰ ἔτη μθ<sup>12</sup>. ἦν δὲ κατὰ Σιμωνίδην Πρυτάνιδος μὲν νιός, Εὐνόμου δὲ ἀδελφός, καὶ θεῖος τοῦ Εὐνόμου υἱοῦ, Χαριλάου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Σπάρτης, ἃς ἦρξεν καὶ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς ἔτη ιη', ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Προκλέους μὲν τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου Σόος, οὗ Εύρυππον<sup>8</sup>, οὗ Πρύτανις, οὗ Εὐνόμος, οὗ Πολυδέκτης ἐκ πρωτέρας γυναικός, ἐκ δὲ Διωνάσσης ὑστέρας Λυκοῦργος, δὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶν μετενεγκεῖν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.

Lykourgos, Spartiate or Lacedaemonian, was born 49 years after the Trojan War. According to Simonides, he was Prytanis' son and Eunomos' brother and the uncle of Eunomos' son, Charilaos, who was the king of Sparta over which Lykourgos himself ruled for 18 years, when he wrote the laws, being the regent for his nephew. According to most people, however, the son of Prokles (Aristodamos' son) was Soos, whose son was Euriphon, whose son was Prytanis, whose son was Eunomos, whose sons were Polydektēs by his first wife and Lykourgos by the later one, Dionasse. Some say that he imported the laws from Creta to Sparta.

**BNJ 8 F 5c****FGrH****Suda λ 823, 3.296.28 Adler**Subject: genre: genealogySource Date: 10th century ADHistorian's Date: 5th century BC?Historical Period: n.a.

Λυκοῦργος, Σπαρτιάτης, νομοθέτης· ὃς γέγονε τῶν Τρωϊκῶν μετὰ ἔτη ν<sup>9</sup>. ἦν δὲ θεῖος πρὸς πατέρος Χαριλάου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σπάρτης, Εὐνόμου ἀδελφόφ<sup>10</sup>. καὶ ἐκράτησε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἔτη μβ'. ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν· καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιη'. μεθ' δὲ Νίκανδρος ἔτη λη'. ἔγραψε νόμους.

**Translation**

Lykourgos: Spartiate, lawgiver, who was born 50 years after the Trojan War. He was uncle on his father's side of Charilaos, the king of Sparta, and Eunomos' brother. He ruled over the Spartiates for 42 years, when he gave the laws, being the regent for his nephew. He reigned 18 years. After him Nikandros reigned 38 years. He wrote the laws.

**Commentary**

This is a new fragment, not in Jacoby, *FGrH*.

The quotation, attributed by Plutarch to 'Simonides the poet', may be ascribed, in my opinion, to the genealogist: see [ ] Annalisa Paradiso, 'Uno stemma genealogico? Nota a Simonide, fr. 628 PMG', *RFIC* 127 (1999), 426–35, after [ ] E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* 1 (Halle 1892, 1892), 276 n. 1, [ ] K.J. Neumann, 'Anhang I. Lykurg und die spartanischen Koeniglisten bei Plutarch', E. Kessler, *Plutarchs Leben der Lykurgos* (Berlin 1910, 1910), 117–18, [ ] V. Ehrenberg, *Neugründner des Staates* (Munich 1925, 1925), 123 n. 8, [ ] U. Kahrstedt, 'Lykourgos (7)', *RE* 13.2 (1927), col. 2443, [ ] F. Ollier, *Le mirage spartiate* 1 (Paris 1933, 1933), 94 n. 1, [ ] K. Ziegler, 'Prytanis (2)', *RE* 23.2 (1957), col. 1157 and [ ] E.N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* 1 (Stockholm 1965, 1965), 376 n. 547, and 2 (Stockholm 1974), 239. Jacoby did not ascribe the fragment to the genealogist in *FGrH* 8 (after Müller, *FHG* 2.42), but later modified his opinion, cf. 8 F5 in *FGrH* 1A (Leiden 1957), *Addenda*, p.\*8. Others who have argued against the attribution to the genealogist, or at any rate for the attribution to the poet, are [ ] R. Flacelière, 'Sur quelques passages des Vies de Plutarque', *REG* 61 (1948), 393, [ ] W. den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954, 1954), 6 n. 2, D. Page, who classed it as Simonides the poet's F628 in *PMG*, [ ] L. Piccirilli, 'Simonide poeta o Simonide

genealogista? (Plut. Lyc.1.8 = Simon. fr.123 Page', *RFIC* 106 (1978), 272-6, and [redacted] O. Poltera, *Le langage de Simonide. Étude sur la tradition poétique et son renouvellement* (Bern 1997, 1997), 579. The same information, attributed however to 'Simonides' without specifying whether the poet or his grandson, and enriched with further details (chiefly *Lykourgos*' link with his nephew and ward *Charilaos* and his redaction of Spartan laws), appears in a scholion to Plato's *Republic* (10.599d) and, anonymously, in a *Suda* entry (λ 823), joined to the non-Simonidean dating of the kings' reigns (i.e., the Eratosthenan-Apollodoran tradition for [redacted] H. Gelzer, 'Lykurg und die delphische Priesterschaf', *RhM* 28 (1873), 9-10 and [redacted] F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik, Eine sammlung der fragmenta* (Berlin 1902, 1902), 110ff.).

(a) and (b) are built on the opposition between two sources (going back to a common source, *Hesychios of Miletos, Onomatologos* 493, p.132 Flach for [redacted] E. Rohde, 'Studien zur Chronologie der griechischen Litteraturgeschichte', *RhM* 36 (1881), 540 n. 1, cf. [redacted] E. Rohde, 'Τέγονε in den Biographica des Suidas', *RhM* 33 (1878), 205 n. 1 and [redacted] T. Mettauer, *De Platonis scholiorum fontibus* (Turici 1880, 1880), 57): the Simonidean genealogy and the richer list (a king-list modified into a genealogical *stemma*, by the insertion of the lawgiver's name) fixed by οἱ πλεῖστοι, obviously *Dieuchidas* (*BNJ* 485 F 5 = *BNJ* 596 F 12 = 2 F 5 Piccirilli) who is cited, perhaps for *Prytanis'* second marriage (see [redacted] L. Piccirilli, *Megarika. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Pisa 1975, 1975), 27), but also *Ephoros* (*BNJ* 70 F 149, 18, *BNJ* 70 F 173, *BNJ* 70 F 175), at least, who is not mentioned. We can attribute to 'Simonides' a system of historical data: Lykourgos' link to the Eurypontid royal family, the names of his father (Prytanis, not *Eunomos*) and brother (Eunomos), and above all the name of his nephew *Charilaos*, in contrast to *Herodotos*, who made Lykourgos an Agiad and the regent of his nephew *Leobatas* (1.65.4, 7.204) and who in 8.131.2 fixed the succession Prytanis-Polydekte-Eunomos-Charilaos-Nikandros. The last piece of information (Lykourgos' link to Charilaos, explicit in (b) but implicit in (a), where it is indirectly hinted at by the name of Lykourgos' brother) has no genealogical but dynastic importance, as it justifies his regency of Charilaos. I think we may also attribute to 'Simonides' the information about the regency and consequently the composition of Spartan laws. Simonides' genealogy is polemically opposed, in (a), to another genealogical *stemma*, by the critical structure Σιμωνίδης..οὐκ Εύνόμου λέγει τὸν Λυκοῦργον πατρός, ἀλλὰ Πρυτάνιδος καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον καὶ τὸν Εύνομον. If it is not Plutarch's own transcription of his source (or that of an intermediate author such as *Eratosthenes* or *Apollodorus*: cf., for such 'negative structures', [redacted] R.L. Fowler, 'Herodotus and his Contemporaries', *JHS* 116 (1996), 77-8), the only other possibility is that this presentation is a critical reassessment of a previous genealogical order, polemically attacked by a genealogist, surely not by a poet (cf., for similar polemically precise details, as an example against *Hesiod*, *Hekataios* *BNJ* 1 F 18b and *BNJ* 1 F 19). Moreover, Simonides' genealogy seems opposed in (a) to the first witness of the future genealogical *vulgata* of the fourth century, from Ephoros onwards, which identified Lykourgos' father with Eunomos and his brother with *Polydekte* (but possibly Eunomos – the personification of *eunomia* – was already an older Eurypontid candidate for the role of lawgiver). A comparison of the three similar quotations of 'Simonides' results in a long and complex 'Simonidean' genealogy of Lykourgos, enriched with biographical information, at least from his father *Prytanis* down to *Lykourgos*, his brother Eunomos, and Eunomos' son Charilaos, that is at least three generations, or perhaps four if we calculate *Nikandros* too. It was possibly a longer list, a genealogy which Plutarch found more complete in his source but abridged, quoting only some details in *Lykourgos* 1.8, and did not insert anywhere else in his biography, as he followed the alternative one.

Even if Simonides the poet was interested in genealogical links as much as most of the archaic poets (see at least F528, 529, 539, 550, 554, 560, 563, 566, 572 and 627 *PMG*), and mentioned *Agamemnon*'s *basileia* in Sparta (F549 *PMG*), and such kings as *Zauxidamos* and *Hippocratidas* (S319 *SLG*), nowhere in the surviving fragments of his work do we find another example of such a genealogical construction, long, complex and enriched by historical details. I therefore think that the general structure of such a long and detailed genealogical list covering many (at least three) royal generations suits better a genealogical than a poetical work (see also Neumann, 'Anhang I. Lykurg und die spartanischen Koeniglisten bei Plutarch', 117: '...der Inhalt des Simonides in den Platonscholien schliesst ein Gedicht aus'). Nor do I think Simonides the poet, who was a friend of the Agiad *Pausanias* (*Plato, Epistulae* 2.311a, *Plutarch, Consolatio ad Apolloniam* 105a, *Aelian, VH* 9.41; cf. *FGE* 17a with [redacted] J.H. Molyneux, *Simonides. A Historical Study* (Wauconda 1992, 1992), 198), could be the first to link Lykourgos to the rival family of *Eurypontids* or a follower of this genealogy. Therefore, I attribute to the genealogist all the information about Prytanis as Lykourgos' and Eunomos' father, and about Lykourgos' regency of Charilaos and his composition of laws, but I exclude not only the years of the kings' reigns but also the 'diastematic' dating with regard to the Trojan War. As to τῆς Σπάρτης, ἡς ἥρξεν καὶ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς ἔτη ιη' in (b), I think this passage is correct if we interpret it as an allusion to the regency and not to the reign (Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 3.6, tells us Lykourgos really reigned eight months, before exercising the regency). As to καὶ ἐκράτησε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἔτη μβ' ὅτε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν· καὶ αὐτὸς δέβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιη'. μεθ' ὁν Νίκανδρος ἔτη λη' in (c), I suppose this passage is corrupted and needs textual restoration. Lykourgos could not 'rule' (ἐκράτησε) for 42 years, said to be the years of a regency though no regency of a minor could be so long. The following καὶ αὐτὸς δέβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιη' seems a repetition of what precedes about Lykourgos' rule, but with a different number of years, 18 instead of 42, which would

better suit the lawgiver's biography (cf. in (b) ἡς ἦρξεν καὶ Λυκοῦργος αὐτὸς ἔτη ιη', from the same source). Then, Nikandros is dated μεθ' ὅν, 'after him'; his predecessor, however, seems to be, textually, Lykourgos, not Charilaos, who 'historically' reigned before him. A textual solution may be to transpose καὶ αὐτὸς δέβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιη', obviously referred to Lykourgos, between Εὐνόμου ἀδελφός and δέ τε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν, and postpone <δέ> καὶ ἐκράτησε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἔτη μβ' after τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν and before μεθ' ὅν, as suggested by [REDACTED] E. Rohde, 'Studien zur Chronologie der griechischen Litteraturgeschichte', *RhM* 36 (1881), 540 n. 1; cf. [REDACTED] A. Paradiso and J. Roy, *Between Genealogy and Chronography: Early Manipulation of Spartan King-lists* (forthcoming). In this way, Nikandros would be, correctly, Charilaos' successor. The strong similarity between ἀδελφός and ἀδελφιδοῦν and the identity of two ἔτη could explain the double *saut du même au même*, made by the not very clever copyist. Finally, I propose to delete ὁ ποιητής after Σιμωνίδης in (a), as a gloss that entered the text subsequently. As to πατρός, perhaps it need not be expunged as I thought in 'Uno stemma genealogico?', 433, n. 3; cf. Simonides, *PMG* 539 κτίσμα Τιθωνοῦ τοῦ Μέμνονος πατρός.

## Biographical Essay

We can only speculate about Simonides' life. Jacoby, who attributed to him, after Müller, some small fragments (but not Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 1.8, which he classified in the section 'Sparta' among the *Anonymoi* as number 596 F 12, and which I now give as my F 5) at first did not even believe in his historical existence: [REDACTED] F. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik* (Berlin 1902, 1902), 110, n. 9, 'der genealoge Simonides ist überhaupt eine fragwürdige Erscheinung'; cf. *FGrH* IIIC, *Kommentar*, 85.44. Later, in *FGrH* IIB, *Kommentar*, 748.1 and IIIB, *Kommentar*, 638.25, he was inclined to identify Plutarch's Simonides with the genealogist (as 8 F 5; cf. *FGrH* IA (Leiden 1957), *Addenda*, p.\*8). The Suda entry (T 1) links him to the family of the homonymous poet as his grandson, that is the son of his daughter, like Bacchylides who was the poet's nephew. If so, the genealogist must belong to the second generation after the poet, who lived in 556/5-468/7, and as a contemporary of Herodotos.

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## Notes

1. <...> lac. stat. Sintenis
2. [ό ποιητής]? ego
3. οἱ <δὲ> Emperius
4. σῶον it. deinceps Z
5. Εὔρυππωντα Valckenaer: εὐρυτίωνα YZ
6. Διωνάσσης Sintenis coll. *schol. Plat. Resp.* 10,599d: διονάσσης Y διανάσσης Z
7. μθ' Greene: υθ' Hermann, υθ' vel μθ' codd.
8. εὐρυππῶν Hermann coll. *Plut.Lyk.*: 1.8 εὐρυτίων codd. Greene
9. ν'Α: η' V ὄκτω GM

10. post ἀδελφός Rohde *RhM* 36, 1881, 540 n.1 καὶ αὐτὸς δέβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιη' transposit; post ἀδελφιδοῦν, <δέ> καὶ ἐκράτησε τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἔτη μβ'

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